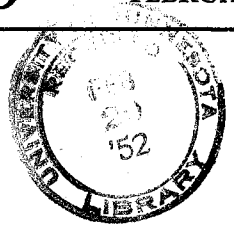
VOLUME IX, NO. 6 HUMAN EVENTS FEBRUARY 6, 1952



FREEDOM AND THE PRESS

By Edna Lonigan

FOR SOME REASON — perhaps the imprisonment of A.P. correspondent William Oatis, or the recent Government secrecy orders — the American press is belatedly aroused to the fear that it will soon be controlled by the State.

The fear is real but the tense is wrong. We now have a "directed" press as we have a "directed" economy, and "directed" political parties.

A "directed" press, like a "directed" economy, is one in which the experts in the strategy of power have discovered the commanding heights or key points, by which the whole can be controlled, have quietly seized them and therefore dominate the whole situation. An undirected or free press is one in which the members are completely free. They can not be coerced from any "key heights", but either operate as individuals or set up private instruments of joint action to move as they decide.

The faction of the Democratic Party now in power in Washington has been engaged since 1933 in a systematic attempt to capture the "commanding heights" from which they can redirect the flow of opinion through our newspapers, magazines, books, movies, television and radio.

It is unfortunate that Americans have firmly fixed in their minds the image of redcoats smashing actual printing presses with their muskets, while an angry people rise spontaneously to drive the intruders away. Today's popular dictatorships do not work that way. They seize the intangibles. RFC loans, allocation of newsprint, ECA purchase of magazine subscriptions, etc., do the work of the redcoats and do it better.

The printing presses, the buildings, the profits of press and publishers, are in no special danger today. The new rulers desire only to redirect the stream of ideas flowing over the wires or through the presses, so that it carries what they choose. They have been brilliantly successful, not only in the military skill with which they have planned and executed their campaign, but also in the psychological skill with which they have "conditioned" the American people to accept each "little" change in the free press, before they moved on to the next step.

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But freedom of the press is not the cherished personal possession of writers and editors only. It is one of the essential political instruments without which the citizens of a nation cannot be the masters of their government.

A nation can not be free, the people of a nation cannot be sovereign, unless they have an undirected press. When the press is directed, the nation has no real hope of free elections, no means to change the party in office, no ability to form a political opposition to resist arbitrary power.

THE FREE PRESS is, politically speaking, a press that "represents" the people, as a directed press represents the government. Peter Zenger* was important to the colonists because he signified the right of any citizen to start a publication for no reason except that he wished to do it. This is of much broader significance than freedom for writers or publishers. The test of vitality in the free press is the rise of new papers, new books, new writers, to meet the need for expression of new opinions. It is the right of the press to grow and change which gives the people the ability to meet new crises.

Present-day governments do not attempt to destroy established papers or writers. They seek to destroy the representative quality of all agencies for exchange of opinion. The old agencies remain untouched, or even gain in readers and profits, but the new political ideas, the new feelings, the new movements, remain without a voice. The writers with new ideas are left without communication with their natural audiences.

Once the growth of new and challenging opinion is stopped, it is easy, by a flood of carefully slanted news, a few financial carrots and a flick of the tax stick, to redirect the rest. There is nothing to see, nothing to hear, nothing to protest against. Nothing is so lifeless as an unpublished book, nothing so innocuous as an unpublished writer. No angry public will rise *en masse* to defend the freedom of a writer who has never been heard, or an idea never permitted to come to life.

The press is truly free *only* if its constitutes a free and open market for new opinions, in which any writer may present his intellectual "wares" if he can find an audience that wishes to hear him; in which any citizen may find a spokesman for their views without permission, prohibition, fear or favor of those who control the government.

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* Peter Zenger, Editor of the *New York Weekly Journal,* was arrested in 1734, charged with libel by the Colonial Governor whom he criticized. The Court favored the Governor but Zenger's counsel, Andrew Hamilton, made such an eloquent plea to the jury that they acquitted Zenger. This is the first historic decision affecting freedom of the press on American soil.

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With a free press, every segment of the nation is "represented". It can put forth its ideas in open competition in the market for ideas, and know that its opinions will stand or fall by one test only — their ability to win adherents in the open competition of ideas.

A "representative" press performs the same political function as a representative Parliament or Congress. It gives voice to all the many and varied opinions and preferences among the people, the test of liberty. A "directed" press gives the nation one voice — that of the rulers only.

NEWSPAPERS emerged as a political instrument in the struggle between the English Parliament and the Stuart kings. The Great Charter of freedom of the press was written by John Milton, one of the officials of the Parliamentary Party.

The press gave the middle classes (the people without power) a body of intellectual "representatives" which only the King, the aristocracy and the clergy, had formerly possessed. It made possible a political philosophy and a political strategy representative of private citizens, non-power seekers. It gave solid reality to the concept of sovereignty of the people of the nation, by affording self-awareness and a means of communication to the people opposed to arbitrary power.

The representative press also served as a bridge between the people and their political spokesmen in Parliament. It carried the statements of Parliamentary leaders quickly to the people, carried the support and encouragement of the people back to the Parliament. It gave to the Parliament a sense of the fierce tide of popular resistance to arbitrary government, an assurance that the nation would support the Parliamentary leaders in their struggle to re-establish liberty.

The rise of a representative press, like the representative Parliament, marked a great historic watershed. Before that time liberty and local government had survived among primitive tribes, in feudal isolation, or in city-states. The transition to large-scale peace and order was too often made by "empires" at the cost of local liberty and self-direction. The representative press, like the representative Parliament, made it possible for local self-government and local liberty to conquer distance, and set up in England and America nations of imperial size and power and orderliness, as devoted to liberty and self-government as early Athens or Rome.

No wonder newspaper editors, closest of all in the writing field to the great tradition, have been among the few articulate defenders of liberty during the slow cave-in of the American Republic. No wonder the recent piece in HUMAN EVENTS by Walter Trohan, "Decline of the Fourth Estate", had the knell of a funeral oration.

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IT IS EASY to see why the new oligarchy had to enmesh the press in its tentacles. It is easy to see how they did it, if one remembers their formula: to take over the commanding heights. Newspapers, book publishers, broadcasting companies, cannot operate without capital, access to markets, an "undirected" supply of workers, newsprint or airwaves, and a sense of importance. Having plotted the key points, the political general staff plot a thousand battles for capture of one or another. They move forward on one front, now on another. They can lose hundreds of times. They know that the break-through will come somewhere, that they are certain to win.

It is interesting to watch, for example, the curious things that are happening to newsprint alone, in a hundred unrelated directions. OPS price controls, allocations, control of imports, quotas for foreign markets, curious developments in Alaska, the strange scarcity of sulphur, and subsidies from the Voice of America; in these and many other apparently unrelated ways, the oligarchy pursues its campaign to encircle and then control what used to be the free press.

Our chief concern however is with the effect of the directed press on a people habituated to representative organs to express and shape public opinion. The free press (in all its forms) knits together the middle classes, the people without office or rigid organizations, so that they become a society and not a mass, so that they have political unity and strength, ability to cope intellectually with change and growth.

But, as the free press is captured, and harnessed, the Nation disintegrates. The State grows in self-confidence and power; the people, like Samson, eyeless in Gaza, grope but cannot see. They feel but cannot reach out to find their friends, or identify their enemies. They think but cannot reduce their thoughts to a few well-organized opinions which can be transmitted into common action. They do not hear their representatives in Congress. Congress, hearing no reply, thinks the people do not care.

The citizens may seethe with the bitterest hatred for the faction in power, and their money grabbing minions. They may be deeply angered by the conduct of war or neglect of national security. They may rise up to do honor to a returning hero who voiced their feelings against traitors and bunglers in office. But they will never organize a political opposition without a free press.

The Opposition Party, immersed in the same corroding atmosphere as the people of the Nation, will slowly disintegrate, or be captured from within by the ever alert masters of the arts of power. A "leader" may rise in desperation to express the people's fury but, as in Italy and Germany, he will express only the lowest common denominator of their passions. The means for rational organization have been destroyed.

Must the American people and the American press sink under this drugging of our minds which has reduced us to the level of opium eaters? No, they can end it, whenever they deprive the new rulers — the directors of our economy and press — of the money by which they have grown so great.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK [illegible], *Associate Editor*

Volume IX, No. 6 Wednesday, February 6, 1952 Washington, D. C.

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Prisoner in the White House: It may be reported with certainty that Cardinal Spellman did not phone (nor otherwise communicate with) President Truman in an effort to keep Attorney General McGrath from being ousted from his job.

No one in this city of unconfirmed rumors doubts that it was Senator Green who prevented Truman from dismissing McGrath; and that Truman kept his Attorney General for the simple reason that he was afraid to do otherwise. Green suavely warned him that McGrath could and would, if dismissed, publicly, very publicly, place the responsibility for the internal revenue scandals right on Truman's shoulders. And Truman also knew that Secretary of the Treasury Snyder would not be made the goat for the same reason.

Now, all this assumes importance, not as transient scandal gossip, but as sound background for understanding the President's position as "the prisoner in the White House". Blocked by his Attorney General, blocked by his Secretary of the Treasury, he is also literally hemmed in by his own White House staff. These are facts, undisputed in the Capital, which bear on the all-important question, "Will Truman run?"

The advice he receives on this from within the Executive Mansion is "yes, because you can win". For those close to him know that, in their own interests, Truman not only must run but must win. Otherwise, it would mean their own extinction.

Hence, the cockiness, the jauntiness of the President at his press conferences. He is given no other picture of a plain which is actually darkling, but is portrayed to him as radiant with light.

Even with all his Pendergast experience, the President—it is believed, not the least by Democrats on the Hill—does not comprehend the depth and width of the cesspool underlying his regime.

For instance, just this week we talked with a distinguished lawyer, recently (before the Newbold Morris appointment) rumored to be a likely person to take over the job of cleaning up the Department of Justice. He related how a "go-between" sent by the "syndicate" tried to "sound him out" (in view of these rumors). Despite the lawyer's refusal to give his visitor any encouragement, the latter managed to make some lurid points, as follows:

(1) The syndicate nets about $300 million a year.
(2) It paid a high Administration functionary $100,000 last year.
(3) It could "break" a high member of the judiciary.
(4) It was prepared to spend 10 per cent of its profits or $30 million in the elections.

Even if one discounts some of these claims, the residue still offers a fearsome picture. It is one which the investigating committees on Capitol Hill dare not obscure in view of public opinion.

In short, the answer to the perennial question is now, "Yes, he will run." Indeed, we have noticed in the past week that observers who have been very skeptical about the President's running now have their doubts removed. And those who have, up to now, reasoned that Truman if he ran would, as in 1948, win now — as they study the developing situation — believe that he cannot win again.

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MacArthur: We can report an instance of the curiously persistent undercurrent for the General for President, despite his stated desire that no one should promote his candidacy.

A poll has just been taken in Dallas County, Texas, under the auspices of the American Legion organization of that area. The Legion formed a committee to encourage people to register, pay their poll tax and vote. It employed a commercial mailing firm to get the names, and a firm of certified public accountants to check on the results. The mailing firm took every twelfth name and address from the public list of those who had paid their electoral poll tax. They sent out a very impartially phrased query to 9,890 names, on January 23, asking the recipient to indicate on a reply card which of the two men — Truman or MacArthur — they preferred for President.

Up to a few days ago, 1186 replies had been received by the mailing company and certified, under oath, by the firm of accountants. The results were: 978 indicated their preference for MacArthur, 161 for Truman and the rest for "neither".

The Dallas committee for MacArthur received recently an amusing letter from a Negro lady. She wrote in somewhat these words: "I have been wondering whether or not I would pay my poll tax. I'd like to know if General MacArthur is going to run for President. If he is, I'll pay my tax; if he isn't, I won't."

Taft and the Farmers: The Senator's campaign is apparently making progress, and we note that the Eisenhower boosters seem a bit unhappy. But we have received a report from correspondents who know the farm field and what they have to say shows that there are obstacles in Taft's way in this part of the electorate.

In two big organizations, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives and the National Milk Producers' Federation, the leaders are for Taft and their attitude seems to be reflected in the rank and file. In the largest farmer's organization, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the hierarchy is not for Taft. President Allan Kline several years ago swallowed a large mess of internationalist pottage and balks at the Senator's "isolationism". However, since Kline and Taft have so much in common in domestic politics, it is believed that Kline's opposition will not be immovable.

The greatest surprise of all, however, is an attitude prevalent among leaders of the most conservative of farm groups — the National Grange. It might be supposed that here Taft would find his most active supporters. Not at all. We learn that a number of Grange leaders are wary of the Senator because of his "liberalism" — his "a little me-too" record on federal aid for education, federal housing, federal aid to medicine, etc. And there are some who recall an Eisenhower statement disapproving Federal aid to education and contrast it with Taft's support of the principle — however sparing he might be in granting funds. All this suggests that Taft's "anti-me-tooism" has some cracks and important sections of the people he wants to win will examine his views on such matters in greater detail.

Signs of the Times: In Montana, Democrats are trying to persuade former Senator B. K. Wheeler to run again for the Senate. Wheeler was defeated for nomination in 1946, after being under attack as an "isolationist". Now, they are saying in Montana that "Wheeler was right about the war and about Communism". Although the best guess is that Wheeler probably won't run, he's got Administration Democrats worried.

In Nebraska, former Governor Griswold — not so long ago a vociferous "one-worlder" — has filed for the short-term Senatorial contest, on the GOP ticket. His friends are busy denying that the former Governor was really an "internationalist".

In New York, Senator Ives (up for re-election this year) has suddenly started cultivating the favor of conservative organizations up-state, patriotic societies, the DAR, etc. In some cases, this

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"me-too" Republican has met with skeptical smiles when he assured conservative leaders he stands for a sound Government policy towards business, economy, the budget, taxes, etc. Such leaders murmur, "But, your record, Senator?"

Jenner: In the past twenty-four hours, the Senator from Indiana has made a fiery speech to the Senate, demanding that the Iron Curtain which the Administration has built around Government files be formally and legally removed. Jenner urged the Senate to pass a bill (S-2255) which he introduced last session and which is aimed at making all Federal papers and files the property of the nation and thereby open to the inspection of the nation's representatives in Congress. "Public records", said Jenner, "are not the property of the President or his employees. They are public property, as much as anything else bought with public money."

The Senator from Indiana and other members of Congress have been stirred to indignation by the arbitrary refusal of President Truman to release Executive files to Congressional committees investigating corrupt or subversive activities of Executive employees. Jenner laid down the fundamental principle: "Congress alone can decide when it is in the interest of the people to keep records confidential. The Executive branch cannot decide because it would be deciding whether to protect itself from public criticism. . . . There is no room in this country for an Executive power which protects itself against criticism by keeping secret the public records."

And Jenner further demands that, while this important bill is in the legislative works, Congress should summon individual employees of the Executive branch who have refused to surrender such files and charge them with contempt of Congress. They would then be subject to imprisonment if they place their duty to the President above their obligation to the representatives of the people.

Watch For: On February 9, Senator McCarthy will celebrate the second anniversary of his original onslaught on the State Department. He will speak on February 9, in Wheeling, W. Va. It may be recalled that McCarthy on February 9, 1950, in that city, made charges concerning Communists in Government, which were taken up by Senator Tydings and his committee.

A new book by Ralph de Toledano, co-author of *Seeds of Treason*, the first book account of the Hiss trial.

Talk that Senator Herbert Lehman of New York may take an active part in, if not manage, the campaign of Estes Kefauver.

Decline of the Fourth Estate: Broadcaster Charles Collingwood has left CBS to enter the State Department, to serve under Mr. Averell Harriman. CBS says the broadcaster is on a six-months leave of absence from its organization. One comment on the change is being frequently made: that Collingwood has never been accused of severely criticizing the State Department, in his broadcasts.

Shifts like the above are not unusual around Washington. We may recall that Mr. Walter Trohan in his excoriation of the Washington press, "Decline of the Fourth Estate" (December 5, 1951 — free copy on request), deals severely with this situation.

—— One of the big stories of Tuesday, January 29, in the Capital, concerned events in the McCarran Internal Security Committee hearings that day. There, Lawrence Rosinger, who was an active participant in the famous State Department conference on China in October, 1949, took the stand and refused to say if he ever was or was not a member of the Communist Party. Rosinger invoked constitutional protection against self-incrimination on that point. Governor Stassen last fall charged that, at this State Department conference (which helped seal the fate of Free China), Rosinger and Jessup dominated the gathering with pro-Communist views.

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A big story — but what coverage? The *New York Times,* the next day, January 30, ran a very brief A.P. account of the story, although the *Times* usually gives staff coverage to incidents of importance. The story on Rosinger was relegated to the 10th page of the *Times.* Two days later, Mr. Truman's description of Senator McCarthy as "pathological" and a "character assassin" won front page rank in the *Times.*

—— Wire services have run an announcement from Governor Kohler of Wisconsin that he is filing for re-election for *Governor.* We noted this in various wire service "sticks" here and there, usually on the inside pages of papers; but no "think pieces" on the implications. The news value of Kohler's announcement is that he will not oppose Senator McCarthy for the GOP senatorial nomination. For months, magazines ran feature articles, and newspapers had special correspondents in Wisconsin report on the possibility that Kohler might run against McCarthy — that a "liberal" might stop the career of the famous critic of the Government's policy towards Communists in its employ. If not "think pieces", at least thought is called for in the columns of papers, about Kohler's decision.

Air Power: General Vandenberg and his Air Force staff — we learn from the grapevine — are plunged into something resembling despair as a result of the cuts in the air budget. (See the article, "Emergency in the Air" by General Bonner Fellers in HUMAN EVENTS, January 23.) As for industry, Mr. William M. Allen, President of Boeing, remarks, that the new "revised" defense schedule is a form of "self-delusion". He says, "Anyone can reach a goal if he continually lowers it to make its attainment easy", referring to postponement of aircraft goals first set for '52 now put back to '55.

In Washington, observers take note of a piece this week in the New York *Journal American* by Major Alexander P. de Seversky, famous writer and authority on air problems, and believe that his opinions closely parallel those of Vandenberg. Seversky says, in connection with the growing Red air strength in Korea, "Our position in Korea is fast becoming untenable. We must find the moral stamina to withdraw our men while there is still time. Otherwise we are dooming them at best to a bloody Dunkirk, at worst to a gigantic Bataan . . ."

Then, Seversky comments on the larger aspects of our declining air power: "Those who regard atom bombs as the deterrent are deluding themselves. Those bombs are useless if we do not have superior means to deliver them. But available strategic air power for this purpose is likely to be expended in the initial operations. . . . The most important contribution we can make to our European friends is to generate without delay the deterrent force that alone can guarantee them time to revive military vitality. Every time we cut into our deterrent air strength for any reason, we do Europe a fatal disservice. In the measure that we put the cart before the horse of strategic air power, then starve the horse to death, we are actually abandoning Europe to the menace of invasion."

Chambers: We nominate for first place among magazines this week the *Saturday Evening Post* for its publication of the first installment of Whittaker Chambers' story. The *Post* displaced the traditional cover picture (which feature, one might guess, dates back to Benjamin Franklin) for a screamer, "In This Issue, One of the Great Books of Our Time. . . ." Chambers' foreword in this issue is the most touching, most intelligent, most powerful piece of writing we have read for many a year.

So powerful is it, that we proudly reach back in the July 13, 1949 issue of HUMAN EVENTS in which — during the first weeks of the famous Hiss trial — we tried to suggest what an extraordinary character Chambers was. "We wish to pay tribute to one Whittaker Chambers", we said. "The savage cross-examination of this extraordinary figure in the Hiss trial must have been a veritable torture. If ever a man suffered for his past sins, and publicly, it was Whittaker Cambers. It is time to recognize that he displayed great self-sacrifice and noble adherence, however belated, to the principles of Americanism, which above all demand individual courage."

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The views expressed in this EUROPEAN SUPPLEMENT are those of an experienced European observer, and are interesting for that reason, but they do not necessarily reflect the views of Human Events—Editors.

By BERTRAND DE JOUVENEL Paris — January, 1952

Lot's Wife: Pessimism is much the easiest line to take about Western Europe and France, its epitome. Both suffer from the wrong kind of Conservatism and the wrong kind of Reformism.

The right sort of Conservatism is that which preserves the conditions of progress, keeping the avenues wide open for individual enterprise. The wrong sort of Conservatism is that in which petrified interests block the way. The right sort of Reformism is that which clears the roads and allows individuals to move on. The wrong sort of Reformism is that which, while freezing everyone, seeks change by doing violence to established institutions. The worst combination imaginable is a policy of penalizing movement and glorifying earthquakes. From that policy you must expect the fate of Lot's wife.

The picture is cruel but accurate. This same Western Europe that was, since the XVth Century, the mightiest spawner of human energies the world has ever seen, spouting its enterprise to the ends of the world, is now falling into the drugged slumbers of a Big Sleep, such as that which afflicted the Orient. Yet the signs are many that Europeans are awakening to the danger, a greater one than that offered by any enemy, and that the old energy is beginning to break through the crust of habits.

France is a case in point. I shall try to show that there is life in its deadening institutions.

Government by Bargaining: Last month the Fourth Republic suffered its fifteenth ministerial crisis. Such instability is the despair of France's foreign friends. Explanation is easy: the Cabinet is at the mercy of the sovereign Assembly, divided into many groups, which in turn are split up into clans. Therefore a government exists only by day-to-day bargaining with supporters. From the moment of his designation the head of the Cabinet must plead, cajole and compromise to put and keep together the majority on which the life of his Cabinet depends. This is as exhausting as tightrope walking.

Such crises are in no way national crises, but merely tempests in the parliamentary teacup. Foreign observers marvel at the indifference shown by the French citizenry. The French are aggravated by these episodes but attach little importance to their outcome. They know that all that has happened is a reshuffling within a self-perpetuating government, of interest mainly to the protagonists. In the last six years the public was aroused by only two meaningful events: the "abdication" of General de Gaulle, and the elimination of the Communists from the Cabinet. All else to them is sound and fury signifying nothing.

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The British are especially scandalized by French instability, in view of the formal similarity between the two political systems. In Britain, as in France, Government is by a Cabinet, recruited from the Assembly and wholly dependent upon the votes of the Assembly. The difference lies in that the British Premier is a general of a disciplined parliamentary army which faithfully follows his lead and solidly votes down the Opposition (Parliament is subservient); while the French Premier must win back a parliamentary majority every day (therefore Government is subservient). Indeed the French Premier does not only have to conciliate members of the Assembly, he must also keep his fellow ministers in line; they are not, as in Britain, his lieutenants, but his associates and rivals. They have not been picked with an eye to efficiency but with an eye to vote-getting.

The art of forming a Cabinet in France consists in baiting parliamentary chieftains with ministerial prizes; it is a collection of men of different views, some of whom have been Premiers and others who feel they should be. The life of such a team can hardly be free of stresses, rivalries and intrigues.

Blood Flows Through Obstacles: The faults of the system are obvious. Public interest is dulled by commotions without visible significance. The issues are never clear-cut. Alternatives are not exposed but are coated over by a coalition jargon which achieves the rhetorical reconciliation of opposites. Thus, politicians blur the picture of the national situation, causing political diseducation and disinterest.

Such a Government must be weak. Any powerfully constituted and active special interest can block a reform in the public interest, or even force through its selfish demands by simply attracting to its cause a number of deputies whom the Government needs for its majority. The process is somewhat obscured by the fact that an obdurate Government may suffer from a rebellion on some issue quite different from that which occasions it. Thus the Government is next to impotent in the face of a tangled growth of special privileges acquired by special interests.

The faults I have noted are great. Nevertheless, in the last six years, French politics have shown a notable improvement. When General de Gaulle left the government, the Communists were the strongest party and the inspirers of the tripartite coalition. It seemed that they were to take the captainship of the team and that France would suffer the fate which was soon to be the fate of Czechoslovakia. Instead the Communists were eliminated in 1947. The Socialists took hold of the reins of government.

But gradually they too lost that privileged position in the Cabinet, moved down and finally out. They still constitute a necessary wing of the majority, only because the more moderate groups are distrustful of General de Gaulle's presumed dictatorial tendencies. Experts in the parliamentary game predict that the Gaullists in Parliament will ultimately join the majority, taking the place of the Socialists and making it a solid moderate bloc; and for this they will, the same seers say, shove aside the great cumbersome figure of the General. Whatever develops, it is nevertheless clear that the majority has shifted.

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Nor is this all. Regardless of opinions, there is a world of difference between the general tone of the Assembly at the inception of the Fourth Republic and now. The tone of the debates struck an all-time low in 1946; it has now risen well above the lows of the pre-war years. Members of parliamentary committees prepare reports not always written by themselves, but which are anyhow an index to their judgment; a few years ago they put their names to the most monstrous concoctions of false ideas and irrelevant facts. I have read a number of the recent reports; they are of high quality and prove at least a capacity to pick competent advisers. There is more sense and good will in the present Assembly than France has seen for twenty years. Government finally has steadily improved; the Faure team I regard as more promising than any preceding combination.

Economic Conservatism: The economic scene also yields some promising signs, if you look very carefully. At first sight it is just as bleak as the political scene. While fruitless agitation characterizes the political picture, in the economic field immobility is the rule. Economic progress demands the continual emergence of "new men", bold venturers in search of untapped possibilities. In France, unfortunately, old firms dominate the economy, and progress is conceived as more of the same work done by the same agencies. Conspicuous phenomena are the longevity of firms and their insignificant birth rate. This condition is enhanced by the unavailability of finances for expansion other than retained profits; this gives a formidable advantage to the established concerns over new ones.

Not only are the concerns perennial and exclusive, but their management remains in much the same hands. Heredity is the main door of entry to the upper positions; there is recruitment from the "great schools" (as we call them) but this is hardly an alternative mode of selection, for the students are picked by directors, and those who are promoted without hereditary claims at least come from much the same social layers. Sons of manual workers are a rarity on our boards of directors.

The point is not that the resulting leadership is lacking in earnestness and intellectual brilliancy; it is not so. But management is apt to find good reasons for "not going West". While "poor boy makes good" by trying something new, an established oligarchy is rather concerned with keeping things running smoothly. This conservatism does not make for an expansive economy. And the fact that all the best places are reserved poses a social problem.

A clever young worker who has received technical schooling will reach the top salary as a skilled wage earner at the early age of twenty. He is then relatively well off with his young wife also employed. When the children come, however, the wife's salary disappears and the expenses rise; the wife's social compensation for staying at home and the family allocation will possibly cover the additional expenses, but not the loss of the wife's salary. The man, and that is the chief point, has no prospect of ever doing any better than he did at twenty. He can become a foreman, but that job is not better paid than that of a specialist, and by accepting this social promotion, the worker cuts himself away from his social group. He cannot be a chemist, an engineer;

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such jobs go to college graduates. As a foreman he would then be a socially miserable half-caste.

Therefore, the trapped young worker feels he can improve his lot only in one of two ways. First, by a general rise in wages, which agitators teach him to believe economically possible and precluded only by the ill will of capitalists; thus he must normally join the party most clamorous in this respect, the Communist Party. Secondly, he can improve his lot by political promotion. Not only can he become a union secretary or a party agent, but he can aspire to any elective position. The same man who cannot be considered for a higher position in a factory can become the mayor of the town where the factory stands. As an economic man he was not good enough to be a lieutenant of the factory owner or director; as a political man he now towers above them.

One day I was arguing with a big Union man about nationalization (that, by the way, was in England but it makes no difference). He finally ended our discussion by saying: "Well, whatever you say, nationalization allowed us to break into this inner sanctum of company headquarters, whence came to us incomprehensible decisions and which we could not daydream ourselves into."

A New Spirit: By what splashes of more cheerful color can we relieve this drab picture? First, it is true that this post-war period has been one of capital re-equipment, though this occurred almost exclusively in the State-owned industries and the big firms. It is nonetheless important that the pre-war trend towards the running down of fixed capital has been reversed. Secondly, only in the last year a new spirit has entered the business class, a direct sequel to trips to the U. S.

I can testify to the decisive importance of such travelling, having seen some French manufacturers before and after. They went to the States convinced that the "American secret" lay entirely in the mass of capital equipment per worker, made profitable only by the territorial hugeness of the market. What impressed them was not the machinery, but the close confident cooperation between employers and employees for operational efficiency. They were impressed by the unflagging care of the manager to streamline operations and the willing zeal of the workers to carry out the tasks as charted. One of them said to me: "There is no 'this will do' on the part of the management and no 'what the hell' on the part of the workers. Both believe in doing the thing as perfectly, as fast, and with as little effort as possible. An ounce of ill will would put grit in this magnificent chain of efforts."

The lesson drawn was that efficiency and understanding must reign all along the line. As a by-product, there is now more admiration than before of those exceptional cases in France where low costs and high wages have gone hand in hand. These achievements are all the more meritorious because the materials and services used by these concerns are not produced under similar conditions.

French businessmen returning from the States are eager to alter human attitudes even more than equipment. Certainly a new spirit is on the move. Things are changing.

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